LEFT AND RIGHT

OLD AND NEW RIGHT

ISOLATIONISM

AMERICAN EMPIRE

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LEFT AND RIGHT

A Journal Of Libertarian Thought

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EDITORIAL:

Old Right / New Left

Mr. Murray Kempton, one of America's most perceptive journalists, attended the annual December, 1965 convention of the National Association of Manufacturers at the Waldorf, and found himself unexpectedly wistful about the good old days when the NAM spent a good portion of its energies attacking governmental interference with the individual. Instead, he found the NAM praising Administration officials, and found himself disgruntled at the change, in short at the passing of the libertarian "Old Right" spirit that used to pervade that favorite whipping boy of the Old Left. Indeed, Kempton saw the NAM fitting smoothly into the current military-industrial complex:

> Ever since the 'thirties, power in the NAM used to center in the middle-sized companies. . .Most of them (their presidents) are gone now; they have been replaced by representatives of the major corporations whose biggest customer is government, which, as the biggest customer, has a claim to be if not always, at least often enough, right. . .
>
> NAM's new permanent president came there from the General Dynamics Corporation, a company which was organized on the basis of confidence in the favor of government. The new NAM is also described in Thomas Mechling, its recently-appointed director of information and a discovery of Thomas B. Watson, Junior. Mechling is best remembered for his lonely struggle as a liberal Democrat against the late Senator Pat McCarran in Nevada.[1]

Kempton keenly noted the irony of the fact that

1. Murray Kempton, "Laughter at the Waldorf," The New Republic (December 18, 1965), p. 20.

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the only criticism of NAM's new orientation to be heard all week came from a New Left student at Yale Law School, who came to interpret the student rebellion to the leaders of industry. And the burden of the criticism was that NAM was no longer living up to its Old Right ideals, which, the student implied, were now being carried forward by the student rebels of the New Left:

> "If you were listening," he said, "you might find that the Students for a Democratic Society and the NAM were in part saying the same thing. . . I had thought that this organization spent much of its time warning of the consequences of a too-powerful central authority for a system in which the individual is the supreme concern.
>
> Perhaps many of you have changed your mind, under the guiding hand of Consensus and Cost plus Six percent; perhaps the GNP has erased your concern for what might happen to people when they are no longer responsible for themselves. The student rebel, however, believes in democracy, not just in free speech, but in bringing into the political process all those left out by poverty, bigotry and technology. . . Call that radical if you will. I prefer to regard this as a belief in the dignity of man; a belief I hope many of you still may share."
>
> The delegates warmly applauded this expression of the pieties they had abandoned.[2]

Another perception of the linkup of Old Right-and-New Left came recently from one of the major theoreticians of the New Left, historian William Appleman Williams, of the University of Wisconsin. On November 5, Professor Williams delivered an address before a predominantly Old Left audience at an anniversary dinner of the National Guardian. Though an avowed socialist, Williams displayed a keen understanding of the cul-de-sac the American Left had reached by identifying itself with the movement for centralized bureaucracy and the Leviathan State. First, Williams implied that the Left must abandon its Marxist mystique of the working-class, and include the great middle-class in its ambit:

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2. Ibid.

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> Community is an inclusive conception, and an inclusive practice. In the true and deep sense, a community includes my father-in-law who wrote in the name of Johnny Birch on his last presidential ballot, as well as my 83-year-old neighbor who did the same for Eugene Debs. . . If Martin Luther King can include white segregationists in his vision of an American community, then American radicals ought somehow to be able to include the middle class in their vision.[3]

Williams then went on to analyze the cul-de-sac that radicals had gotten themselves into by pushing American society into a "centralized and consolidated" corporate state, a state and society structured and governed by a cozy coalition of conservatives and liberals. Instead, Williams emphasized, radicals must break completely with the conservative-and-liberal program of centralized corporate welfare capitalism, and plump whole-heartedly for decentralization:

> The core radical ideals and values of community, equality, democracy, and humaneness simply cannot in the future be realized and sustained--nor should they be sought--through more centralization and consolidation.
>
> These radical values can most nearly be realized through decentralization and through the creation of many truly human communities. If one feels the need to go ancestor-diving in the American past and spear a tradition that is relevant to our contemporary predicament, then the prize trophy is the Articles of Confederation. . .
>
> Such decentralization is technologically and economically possible. Such decentralization is essential if democracy is to be maintained and extended. And such decentralization is psychologically and morally mandatory. Our humanity is being pounded and squeezed out of us by the consolidated power of a nationalist corporate welfare capitalism.[4]

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3. "Williams on policy for U. S. radicals," National Guardian (November 27, 1965), p. 6.
4. Ibid., p. 7.

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Williams then went on to define specifically the relationship between his proposed recasting of the American Left and the libertarian Old Right credo which he saw (probably over-optimistically) in the Goldwater Movement:

> Such decentralization also provides American radicalism with the most exciting and creative vista upon a different and a better America. The validity of this is ironically attested to by the handful of tough and shrewd old 19th century conservatives who have already beaten the radicals to this perception, and have in less than five years evoked from Americans of all generations a response that frightens and concerns the majority.
>
> It is probably a harmless convention to talk at cocktail parties about the Goldwaterites in terms of their status problems, but it is a highly dangerous habit to think seriously about them in that fashion. They want participatory democracy pointed toward the very concrete restoration of 19th Century laissez faire. Or so they think, because that is what their reactionary leaders want. But in truth most of them want the welfare state cut down to human size, and structured in terms of community. And that is precisely what relevant radicalism would offer as its bedrock appeal for a constituency.

Professor Williams' thoughtful striking out in new directions has met the fate of all intellectual pioneers. On the one hand, the Right-wing, which treats the New Left only in terms of sinister conspiracy or petty and irrelevant aesthetics (the charge of "beatniks", etc.), has ignored the speech completely. On the other, Williams has aroused the conditioned hysterical responses of all the hidebound guardians of the Old Left, who could only see in Williams a Bircher, a Goldwaterite, even--ultimate curse of curses--a Nazi! Thus, one Norval Welch of New York City:

> It is no coincidence that, in Williams's opinion, the 'most exciting and creative vista' he longs for has been offered by whom? -- the Goldwaterites!. . .

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> Are our memories so short that we have forgotten where romantic socialism leads? Did not the unemployed and demoralized Germans, 1929-1931, also long for a "new order" along "socialist" lines?

Henry F. Mins also saw something sinister in Williams' insistence on forming a community with his Birchite father-in-law, and concluded that Williams was only advocating a "corn-fed variety of ethical culture"; and Sophia Kutey of the Bronx could only throw up her hands at the whole thing and urge Professor Williams to go and study Lenin's "Left Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder," a response typical of Marxists who are unable to grasp a new idea.[6]

The ideological walls in America are crumbling fast, and regrouping and reforming almost as rapidly. The keepers of the flame of the Old Left are as much doomed to obsolescence as are the swaggering fire-eaters of the New American Right.

5. In National Guardian (December 11, 1965), p. 8.
6. Ibid. (January 22, 1966), p. 2.

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EDITORIAL:

New Right: National Review's *Anniversary*

In the fall of 1965, National Review celebrated its 10th anniversary, and part of the record of its orgy of self-congratulation may be found in its November 30 issue. The magazine has, during its decade, even achieved the ultimate: for the issue contains the major part of a book in the process of publication, the bulk of which is solemnly devoted to the petty internal theoretical squabbles among the National Review editors and assorted contributors. To have a young professor of English--author of this tome--really think it important whether a true Conservative should worship Burke or Madison, the Crown of St. Stephen or the Crown of St. Wenceslas (for of such stuff are its intra-journal discussions made), demonstrates that National Review has arrived as a serious force in American life.

But National Review has accomplished far more than this, far more perhaps than even it realizes; in much less than a decade it has managed virtually single-handed, to effect a massive transformation in the nature of the Right-wing in America. This is a transformation that has gone virtually unrecognized by the Right-wing itself, never the most reflective of groupings, as well as by most observers of the American ideological scene.[1]

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1. There are only two analyses of this phenomenon: Ronald Hamowy, "National Review: Criticism" and "Rejoinder", in New Individualist Review (November, 1961), pp. 3-7, 10-11; and Murray N. Rothbard, "The Transformation of the American Right," Continuum (Summer, 1964), pp. 220-231.

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The outer trappings of National Review's "take-over" are clear enough: the founding of the Young Americans for Freedom (YAF) at Bill Buckley's estate at Sharon, Connecticut, and the subsequent emergence of YAF as the political-action youth arm of the Conservative Movement, especially on campus; the major role of National Review publisher Bill Rusher in the newly-won conservatism of the Young Republican movement; the prominent role of National Review-types in the Draft Goldwater campaign as well as that of Brent Bozell (Buckley's brother-in-law and then an NR editor) in helping to ghost Goldwater's best-selling Conscience of a Conservative; the founding by NR-oriented people of the Conservative Party of New York; Bill Buckley's emergence as the Number One TV "personality" of the Right-wing, and the general admiration expressed for him as such a personality by the New York press during Buckley's 1965 campaign for Mayor. Neither are the reasons for the ease of NR's takeover of the Right-wing difficult to find. The Right-wing in America has never been distinguished for the intensity of its intellectual life; and those scattered intellectuals that did exist on the right generally confined themselves to the brief exposition of general principles. Such exposition is all very well, but hardly suffices to generate a sturdy ideological, let alone a political, movement. Into this vacuum at the top, then, stepped National Review: witty, polished, glib, erudite, and ready to do battle, week in and week out, with at least the Liberal wing of the Establishment. It is then not surprising that NR quickly leaped to the leadership of the Right-wing, that it inspired a youth and an intellectual movement, nor that the mass of rightists were unreflectively eager to accept that lead.

So much for the trappings and the reasons; more important is the content of the radical transformation from Old Right to New. Without detailing the views and principles of the Old Right here (since recalling and examining them is one of the major purposes of this magazine), we may cite a few examples as a guide to the enormous distance that the New Right has travelled under the aegis of National Review:

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(1) At the end of 1955, FOR AMERICA, a leading right-wing political action group of the day, published its platform; two of its major foreign policy planks were: "ABOLISH CONSCRIPTION", and "Enter NO FOREIGN WARS unless the safety of the United States is directly threatened". It was not exactly an advanced peace platform, but it was squarely anti-militarist and anti-foreign intervention, and there was not a line in the document about stopping Communism all over the world, liberating Communist countries, etc.

(2) In 1954, the novelist Louis Bromfield published a political work that praised individualism and denounced statism, war, conscription, and imperialism. Bromfield wrote:

> One of the great failures of our foreign policy throughout the world arises from the fact that we have permitted ourselves to be identified everywhere with the old, doomed, and rotting colonial-imperialist small European nations which once imposed upon so much of the world the pattern of exploitation and economic and political domination. . . None of these rebellious, awakening peoples will. . .trust us or cooperate in any way so long as we remain identified with the economic colonial system of Europe, which represents, even in its capitalistic pattern, the last remnants of feudalism. . . We leave these awakening peoples with no choice but to turn to Russian and communist comfort and promise of Utopia. . .
>
> The growing "neutralism" of the European nations is merely a reasonable, sensible, and civilized reaction, legitimate in every respect when all the factors from Russia's inherent weaknesses to our own meddling and aggressiveness are taken into consideration. . . The Korean situation . . .will not be settled until we withdraw entirely from an area in which we have no right to be and leave the peoples of that area to work out their own problems. . .[2]

2. Louis Bromfield, A New Pattern for A Tired World (New York: Harper and Bros., 1954), pp. 49-50, 73-74.

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(3) In the spring of 1953, George Morgenstern, historian and editorial writer for the Chicago Tribune, published an article in the right-wing weekly Human Events (now tragically become a hack organ for the "Conservative Movement"). The article was a trenchant attack on U. S. imperialism since the days of McKinley:

> At the end of the 19th Century the United States began to stir with those promptings of imperialism and altruism which have worked to the mischief of so many puissant states. The sinister Spaniard provided a suitable punching bag. Two days before McKinley went to Congress with a highly misleading message which was an open invitation to war, the Spanish government had agreed to the demands for an armistice in Cuba and American mediation. There was no good reason, but there was war anyway. We wound up the war with a couple of costly dependencies, but this was enough to intoxicate the precursors of those who now swoon on very sight of the phrase "world leadership".
>
> McKinley testified that in lonely sessions on his knees at night he had been guided to the realization that we must "uplift and civilize and Christianize" the Filipinos. He asserted that the war had brought new duties and responsibilities 'which we must meet and discharge as becomes a great nation on whose growth and career from the beginning the Ruler of Nations has plainly written the high command and pledge of civilization." This sort of exalted nonsense is familiar to anyone who later attended the evangelical rationalizations of Wilson for intervening in the European war, of Roosevelt promising the millenium. . . of Eisenhower treasuring the "crusade in Europe" that somehow went sour, or of Truman, Stevenson, Paul Douglas, or the New York Times preaching the holy war in Korea. . .
>
> An all-pervasive propaganda has established a myth of inevitability in American action: all wars were necessary, all wars were good. The burden of proof rests with those who contend that America is better off, that American security has been enhanced, and that prospects of world

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peace have been improved by American intervention in four wars in half a century. Intervention began with deceit by McKinley; it ends with deceit by Roosevelt and Truman.

Perhaps we would have a rational foreign policy . . .if Americans could be brought to realize that the first necessity is the renunciation of the lie as an instrument of foreign policy.[3]

That these views are diametrically opposed to the current New Right and its intellectual organ, National Review, need hardly be documented; we need only add that NR's--and its favorite candidate, Barry Goldwater's--most cherished President is undoubtedly Theodore Roosevelt, the embodiment of the very imperialist vices that Mr. Morgenstern so vigorously denounced. And can we for example, imagine Senator Taft, the political leader of the Old Right, rushing to the defense of the fascist regime of South Africa? Neither is the transformation from Old to New Right confined to foreign affairs, although there it is the most glaring. For a Right-wing that used to be at least partially devoted to the civil liberty of the individual now puts up as candidate for Mayor of New York City William F. Buckley, whose major political position was to denounce all libertarian restraints upon the police power and call, in essence, for all power to the police.

In the last few years, as it has sniffed the heady wine of imminent political power, National Review has become increasingly Establishment-y and increasingly concerned to oust from Right-wing ranks all groups that might prove a political embarrassment. For example, Mr. Robert Welch and the John Birch Society, who embarrass the Conservative Movement by accepting its own major premises (such as the bogey of the all-pervasive "international Communist conspiracy") and deduce from it, with far better logic than wielded by the sophisticates of National Review, absurd but consistent conclusions (e.g. Welch on Eisenhower as a dedicated Communist.) National Review's increasingly savage attacks

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3. George Morgenstern, "The Past Marches On", Human Events (April 22, 1953).

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on the Birch Society are attacks on its own Logical Conscience. The attacks escalated in late 1965 when Mr. Welch came out in favor of U. S. withdrawal from Vietnam. By thus directly opposing NR's cherished policy of global war, the Birch Society finally put itself beyond the pale--totally outside that magazine's cherished Conservative "community."

National Review has reason to look back upon its ten years and be proud. It has accomplished most of what it set out to do: it has managed to transform the American Right from essentially old-fashioned liberalism to old-fashioned Conservatism, with all the devotion to war, theocracy, the State police, and racism that the change implies. It managed to nominate one of the New Right's very own as a major party presidential candidate. If the Great Consensus of the Center should falter in its slow but sure course of extirpating American freedom, NR and the New Right stand ready to present us with an alternative: finishing the task quickly and dramatically. To some of us, this kind of "choice" is all too magnified an "echo". But there are strong signs that the Conservative Movement peaked in 1964 and has been declining rapidly ever since, and perhaps we can look forward to a rather less exuberant and gala celebration on National Review's fifteenth anniversary.

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EDITORIAL:

New Right:

Future?

A prospectus is going the rounds heralding a new, slick fortnightly magazine, oddly entitled Future- the Future referring not, as might be thought, to science-fiction Utopias, but to the Second Coming of Jesus. Judging by its editors and associates, Future will be National Review with the gloves off, stripped of all pretenses to old-fashioned libertarian rhetoric, stripped of glib Madison Avenue concessions to traditional American persuasions. The spiritual symbol of Future will not so much be the Cross and the Sword, as proclaimed by its editors, but rather the auto-da-fé: for here we will find a blend of 20th Century Catholic fascism with the religio-political stance of the Holy Inquisition. The essence of its program will be to extirpate, at any and all costs, all atheists and infidels, at home and abroad. Featured in the magazine will be such past and present National Review luminaries and lay theologians as L. Brent Bozell, Thomas Molnar, Frederick D. Wilhelmsen, Willmoore Kendall, Russell Kirk, and Sir Arnold Lunn (doyen of British clerical-fascism); it is a measure of the Weltanschauung of this illustrious collection that the sturdy monarchists Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn and Otto von Hapsburg form what might ironically be called the "left-wing" of the founding group. Only one non-Catholic appears

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among the founders: Prof. Gerhart Niemeyer, and he, one presumes, squeezes in under the wire because, though a Protestant, he has the grace to teach at Notre Dame University.

We welcome the impending arrival of Future on the American journalistic and ideological scene. It is always more exhilirating--and more educational--to confront the naked and unadorned face of evil than to joust with it hidden behind the camouflage of concession and demagogy. We cannot believe, however, that there really will be a Future in our future; we cannot believe that the ranks of American businessmen, upon whose advertising and contributions Future will presumably depend for its survival, are so besotted that they will support a magazine that will lay its monstrous program so clearly on the line. Surely, there is enough devotion to freedom remaining in American business so that this, at least, shall not pass.

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EDITORIAL:

From Georgia With Love:

The Case Of Julian Bond

Julian Bond, a brilliant young leader of SNCC (Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee), having been duly elected to the Georgia state legislature from Atlanta, dared to endorse SNCC's statement attacking conscription and the American war in Vietnam. In so doing, Mr. Bond indelibly stamped himself as a "bad" Negro in the eyes of his legislative colleagues, and was thus barred from his seat in the Georgia House by a vote of 184 to 12.

In the widespread comment on the Bond case, there has not been sufficient emphasis placed on its vital importance, for Mr. Bond's treatment raises the crucial question whether or not America is truly a "free country". In particular, classically there are only two basic routes to fundamental change in a nation's policy: through free elections or through revolution. Indeed, the whole point of free elections is to make peaceful change possible. But elections are most emphatically not free if the legislature can bar or expel a member with whose views it does not agree.

The case of Julian Bond cuts to the heart of the very nature of American democracy. It must not be decided on the basis of the old legal myth that a

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legislature is essentially a private club, which may legitimately and arbitrarily decide who sits in its chambers. The case recalls the shameful expulsions of Representative Victor Berger from the U. S. House of Representatives in 1919, and of five members of the New York State legislature the following year, for the high crime of having been members of the Socialist Party and thus having opposed U. S. entry into World War I. All of these men, indeed, like Bond, ran again for their seats, were re-elected, and were again barred by their respective legislatures. But in the case of the Socialists, a stubborn addiction to the alleged right of a legislature to decide on its own membership prevented the victims from testing the whole problem in the courts. Julian Bond fortunately suffers from no such qualms, and will pursue the matter in the Federal courts. They will decide whether or not elections in America are only a mockery.

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EDITORIAL:

The Mitchell Case

The case of David H. Mitchell, the young man who is challenging the very basis of the conscription law, was treated in our previous issue (Conrad J. Lynn, "The Case of David Mitchell versus the United States, LEFT AND RIGHT (Autumn, 1965)). On January 13, 1966, the United States Court of Appeals unanimously reversed David Mitchell's conviction in the lower courts, and ordered a new trial on grounds of Mitchell's having been deprived of enough time to obtain legal counsel. The case will now be retried in the lower courts. We are happy to report that, under the direction of the eminent civil libertarian lawyer Fyke Farmer, Mitchell's case will be made, among other possible points, on the constitutional lines indicated in our previous issue.

With the draft reaching out to threaten more and more American families as the war in Vietnam escalates in destruction, the case of David Mitchell becomes ever more important as a defense of liberty in the United States. But Mr. Mitchell greatly needs funds to pursue this vitally important case and to stay out of prison while the case is being conducted. Anyone who wishes to support his endeavor should send funds to:

END THE DRAFT
c/o Mitchell
150 Crown Street
Brooklyn, N. Y. 11225

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Isolationism, Old and New

By LEONARD P. LIGGIO

PART 1

The Old Isolationism

During the 1964 Democratic National Convention, the American people waited while Lyndon Johnson met with the two senators, Thomas Dodd and Hubert Humphrey, between whom he would choose his vice-president. For those who were not confused by the superficial differences between them, the meeting of the three symbolized one of the major traditions in American politics. Johnson, Dodd, and Humphrey had one major common denominator: their consistent and unswerving support of American imperialism. Johnson was a member of the Southern congressional bloc that was a major force for American intervention in World War II; he supported the Truman Administration's launching of the Cold War and maintained it during the succeeding years; and he was a major proponent of the heavy defense budgets for both strategic missiles and the smaller armaments for conventional limited wars whereby US imperialism is maintained around the globe. Senator Dodd's career as a government bureaucrat and a congressional advocate of the Cold War was interrupted by service as the chief trial prosecutor against German political officials at the Nuremberg trials. Senator Humphrey had risen to mayor of Minneapolis from the havoc wreaked on Minnesota liberalism by advocacy of intervention in World War II. The defectors from Norman Thomas'

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isolationist socialism had formed the Union for Democratic Action, which had become the pre-Cold War ADA with Humphrey firmly in the leadership; the Minneapolis Trotskyist teamster leaders were tried for sedition for their anti-imperialism, and the Farmer-Labor party ultimately collapsed from the loss of its isolationist base. Johnson, Dodd, and Humphrey were strong supporters of World War II and the Korean and Vietnam interventions, as well as the imperialist policies which formed and surrounded them.

The tradition of American imperialism is a long one as its proponents keenly emphasize, and this is indicative of the kind of system that has successfully maintained itself in this country, despite occasional major threats, until this very moment. The major threats have been occasional because, unlike the system evidenced by American imperialism, there has not been the organization, continuity and understanding by those whom the system exploits comparable to that displayed by the beneficiaries from the exploitation. The opposition to the tradition of American imperialism has been characterized as the tradition of "isolationism". The statesmen of the American Revolution were the founders of the American isolationist tradition, which combines cosmopolitanism and citizenship of the world with rejection of international political alliances. The concept of cosmopolitan neutrality and non-intervention, established in Washington's Farewell Address, was firmly rooted in American ideals by Thomas Jefferson, who in his First Inaugural Address announced the principle: "Honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none."[1] The isolationist creed was maintained by the Jeffersonians and Jacksonians in their opposition to international status quo exploitation.

Significantly, it was also John Quincy Adams who first rebuffed a European suggestion that

1. See Selig Adler, The Isolationist Impulse: Its Twentieth-Century Reaction (New York: Abelard-Schuman, 1957), pp. 10-11.

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> the United States assume a share of responsibility for world order. . . Ultimately, John Quincy Adams' precepts were incorporated into isolationist creed: the United States would lend only moral support to the worthy cause of universal freedom, and would not deviate from non-entanglement even for the purpose of preserving world peace.[2]

During the period of American imperialism against Mexico, the aggressive expansionists labelled their opponents as "isolationists".[3] The American South has always been the major center of American overseas expansion and foreign intervention. The South desired to use federal troops to gain additional territory just as it had used them to maintain slavery and then serfdom among the Negroes. Spearheaded by the Texans, the South took the lead in the Mexican aggression, and then pushed for the conquest of Cuba and control of Central America, especially the Isthmus. The Civil War crisis developed through the South's loss of control of the federal troops to a party which preferred continental expansion within the national boundaries to either the conquest of Cuba or the extension of slavery across the continent. The centers of opposition to expansionism and American imperialism during the Mexican and Civil Wars were the Middle West and areas in the East, which were centers of anti-war activities, including non-payment of taxes and draft-riots.

The origins of modern twentieth century isolationism are related to the development of the New Imperialism from the 1880's on, and in which the United States was a major participant. The seizure by the US of the Spanish colonial empire at the turn of the century was a major cause in the development of isolationism. The Anti-Imperialist League under the leadership of the Liberal Republicans (Mugwumps) established the basic traditions of American isolationism, with which the populism of Bryan and the socialism of Debs were

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2. Ibid., p. 14.
3. Ibid., pp. 14, 27.

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associated. The Mugwumps were paralyzed by their upper social position from bringing forward and educating those who sympathized with their views; Bryan compromised the Populist commitment which itself was lacking in clarity. It was the incipient Socialist movement in America which, as heir to classical liberalism, possessed in this period the ability to bring together and educate those opposed to American imperialism. The strongest early twentieth century isolationists in America were those most influenced by socialism, whether directly like Debs or indirectly like LaFollette; similarly, in Europe, isolationism was led by Socialists like Jaures and Lenin. Thus, in America as in Europe, it was the Socialists who led the struggle against US Imperialism's intervention in World War I and bore the brunt of the resulting persecutions.

The liberals whose courage had failed with US intervention in World War I rejoined LaFollette, Debs et al. in the two-fronted battle for isolationism and for civil liberties against the Wilson Administration. The government's campaign for the League of Nations coincided with its persecution of progressives in the Red Scare of 1919-20. The League of Nations was recognized as the imperialist instrument of the exploiters that would lead to war by maintaining the status quo imposed by them at Versailles. Oswald Garrison Villard, Walter Lippmann, Albert Jay Nock and Scott Nearing provided the intellectual and polemical ammunition for the anti-League senators of the Battalion of Death led by Robert LaFollette, Hiram Johnson and William Borah. The campaign for isolationism and civil liberties continued during the 1920's as US imperialism continued its course in the Caribbean and in the Far East. But it was the depression of the 1930's which eventually led to a strong popular isolationist movement. Rooted in the close financial collaboration with Britain in the 1920's, the depression forced the "have not" nations into desperate measures against the system of Western imperialism which exploited them, and these desperate measures in turn provided the excuse for

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the rearmament by which the US government finally was able to end the depression.[5]

The development of opposition to American intervention in World War II was crucial for the succeeding quarter century of American history. It was the US intervention into World War II that disrupted the isolationist factor in American politics and led to confusion of its basic principles.

> During the course of the protracted twentieth-century debate over foreign policy, the word "isolationist" became a cliche. Through reckless use it acquired, like "appeaser" or even "liberal", a somewhat sinister meaning. . . It was a handy designation for our twin policies of neutrality and non-intervention. . . We can begin by saying that American isolationism has never meant total social, cultural, and economic self-sufficiency . . Ardent isolationists have frequently advocated American leadership in the promotion of peace, provided always that we limit our efforts to moral suasion and scrupulously avoid commitments for coercive action to allay or punish aggression.[6]

The death in January, 1940 of Senator William Borah was a significant blow to American isolationism. Borah had a complete grasp of world problems and understood the nature of imperialism, and especially of American Imperialism. He recognized that it was Asia and not Europe that formed the crisis center of the world because it was there that nations suffered from imperialism and would struggle mightily to free themselves. Furthermore, Asia was the area of the greatest US financial and strategic involvement and expectation. Borah died as the earliest US measures leading to war against Japan were initiated, and no one remained

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5. Cf. Murray N. Rothbard, America's Great Depression (Princeton, N.J.: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1963), and William Appleman Williams, The Tragedy of American Diplomacy (N.Y.: Dell Pub. Co., 1962.)
6. Adler, op. cit., pp. 26-29.

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with the preception to center the attention of American isolationism on the crisis in Asia.

It was the threat of American intervention in the European war that led to the formation of the America First Committee and it was the European situation on which the America First Committee concentrated during the near year-and-a-half of its existence. Founded by R. Douglas Stuart, Jr., Kingman Brewster, Jr., and other Yale students under the influence of the eminent international lawyer, Professor Edwin Borchard, the organization came to include many of the traditional isolationists, like John T. Flynn, Norman Thomas and Harry Elmer Barnes, but was dominated by businessmen with short-run viewpoints. Many of these businessmen were former generals who not only completely lacked understanding of the basic isolationist opposition to militarism and conscription, but even proposed a wide program of militarization for America. Thus, the failure of America First to put itself in complete opposition to the draft permitted the extension of conscription in September, 1941 by but a single vote. Without the extension of conscription the administration would never have pursued the aggressive policy against Japan which led to war in December, 1941. Thus, the insistence upon compromise, moderation and non-principled stands by the businessmen-generals who assumed the leadership of the isolationist movement undercut and ultimately defeated the traditional isolationism of the membership and the intellectuals in America First, as well as of the other isolationist groups. It was the compromises and failures of that very leadership that provided the opportunity for successful US involvement in World War II.

> The noninterventionist strength, which the Committee and other groups represented, definitely affected the strategy of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. More than that, persons close to Roosevelt felt that the noninterventionists had fought the president very nearly to a standstill near the end of 1941. . .[7]

7. Wayne S. Cole, America First, the battle against intervention, 1940-1941 (Madison, Wisc.; University of Wisconsin Press, 1953), pp. viii, 199.

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With their decision in favor of compromise, moderation, and manipulation, the leadership of America First attempted to play a game that was lost from the beginning. The "instrumentalists" of the pro-war New Republic recognized that their only effective opposition came from the principled and absolutist isolationists, men who had emerged from the original main center of American isolationism, the American Left.[8] In its editorial "Hutchins and the Absolute", the New Republic (February 3, 1941) declared:

> It is worth noting that, whatever their other differences, it is the absolutist philosophies of our time that are united for isolation and appeasement. The Communists and the dogmatic socialists of the Norman Thomas stripe; the pacifists; the Nazis; the liberal absolutists of the Flynn type; and now the Hutchins brand of neo-Thomas (sic) absolutism that speaks and thinks in terms of frozen moral categories.[9]

The "instrumentalist" approach is essentially a conservative one, dedicated as it is to the substantial maintenance of the status quo. Walter Lippmann, who was developing a conservative philosophy, and Herbert Agar, a leader of southern conservative thought, became interventionists, as did conservative critics of the revolutionary aspects of National Socialism, such as Peter Viereck (Metapolitics: From Wagner to Hitler) and William M. McGovern (From Luther to Hitler). American nationalists like Joseph Alsop and William Kintner (American White Paper) were joined by European-born nationalists like Robert Strausz-Hupe (Axis America: Hitler Plans our Future) and Stefan T. Possony.[10]

Stefan T. Possony is an interesting example of the role of nationalist influences - the antithesis of American cosmopolitan isolationism. Until 1939 Possony had lived in Vienna where he published

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8. "America First and the Left," New Republic, June 2, 1941.
9. See James J. Martin, American Liberalism and World Politics, 1931-1941 (New York: Devin-Adair, 1964), II, 1272.
10. Ibid., pp. 1167-68, 1180, 1265, 1274.

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a work on economic controls during wartime (English translation, Tomorrow's War, London, 1938). Based on the German experience during and since the First World War, Possony emphasized the development of capital accumulation by the State during wartime in case the European conflict should be resumed. Possony soon fled to France where he became an adviser to the French government, 1939-40, and came to the US after the defeat of France. When it was proposed in the Nation, "Shall we feed Hitler's Victims" as suggested by the work of the Quakers, the Red Cross and Herbert Hoover, Possony effectively answered, no, in "Relief, Limited" (Nation, December 14, 1940). Possony contributed to the hysteria engendered by Hearst's geopolitical theories, under which the US would be invaded by Germany by way of Africa, South and Central America. When John T. Flynn rationally disposed of these ravings, Possony rushed into print in the New Republic (May 12, 1941) making fantastic military predictions, but also significantly appealing to the all-too-real fears that American business in South America could not bear German economic competition.[11]

By early 1941, however, the Nation and New Republic had fallen behind in the intensity of advocacy of belligerency as compared to the Hearst newspapers and the Luce publications, Time and Life. Tex McCrary, Hearst editorialist, declared: "When we have won the war I will become a rampant imperialist - in that I would want to see America enforce the peace. . . It would be a "Roman peace", and we would be the Romans. . ."[12] Clare Boothe Luce's campaign for war won her a nomination in Common Sense (January, 1941) as the American woman who when war came could claim "sole responsibility for the event". Asia, and especially, China, was central to the American dreamers of empire, as William L. Neumann has noted:

> Financial aid to Chiang Kai-shek, another writer promised, would be the "first step toward the

11. Ibid., p. 1258.
12. Ibid., p. 1174.

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practical realization of the long-awaited El Dorado of the Chinese market". Henry Luce, perhaps the most influential disseminator of the conventional image of China, warned that failure to assume the responsibilities of the "American Century" would mean a dissolution of the Asian dream, whereas a positive program would mean that Asia "will be worth to us four, five, ten billions of dollars a year."[13]

Henry Luce's "American Century" would establish the US as the dominant world power in alliance with England. Max Lerner (New Republic, April 7, 1941) criticized liberal lack of enthusiasm for Luce's program, and approved of much of the program, especially in contrast to the position of the isolationist liberals like Senator Wheeler and John T. Flynn. Luce represented for Lerner "a new capitalist-conscious group, most of them younger men, who do not fear the war but regard it as an opportunity". Lerner noted that Luce's views were preceded by a New Republic editorial (December 23, 1940) on the necessity of an American-led Anglo-American hegemony. America in cooperation with England should "establish its hegemony in the world, control the world sea lanes and world trade, send out technicians to develop the world and education to teach it and food cargoes to feed it and ideals to inspire it".[14]

The role of American financial and business leaders and their major press organs, such as the Luce publications, was clear to the leading isolationists. They realized, too late, where the real source of American imperialism was seated. Senator Robert Taft's rebuttal (Nation, December 13, 1941) to an article by Arthur Schlesinger Jr. (Nation, December 6, 1941) summed up the major forces supporting American intervention in World War II:

Nor is Mr. Schlesinger correct in attributing

13. William L. Neumann, "Determinism, Destiny and Myth in the American Image of China," in George L. Anderson, Issues and Conflicts, (Lawrence, Kan.: University of Kansas Press, 1959), p. 13.
14. See Martin, op. cit., pp. 1171-72.

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the position of the majority of Republicans to their conservatism. The most conservative members of the party - the Wall Street bankers, the society group, nine-tenths of the plutocratic newspapers, and most of the party's financial contributors - are the ones who favor intervention in Europe. . . The war party is made up of the business community of the cities, the newspaper and magazine writers, the radio and movie commentators, the Communists, and the university intelligentsia.[15]

In the period preceding American entrance into World War II there had been a number of persons who sought direct US support for the Chiang Kai-shek regime, among them such individuals as Henry and Clare Boothe Luce, Walter Judd, Alfred Kohlberg, and Joseph Alsop who worked through a number of established groups and specially-formed committees. As part of the limited opposition permitted by themselves during the war, Republicans agreed to limit their attacks to the waste and methods of conduct of the war effort. One of the gravest examples of graft and corruption was the use of American money by the Chiang regime. The exposure of this waste in 1943 caused a split between the businessmen and journalists who continued to support Chiang, and the East Asian scholars who denounced this injury to the war effort; indeed, it has been said that Chiang stopped active fighting when the US came into the war. Alfred Kohlberg then leaped to the charge that anti-Chiang and "therefore" pro-Communist influence had caused these scholars to criticize Chiang Kai-shek. The basis for this wild accusation was the charge that the scholarly journals Pacific Affairs and Far Eastern Survey had contained in the preceding seven years no criticism of Japanese policies except for

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15. Ibid., pp. 1277-78. The Communists' role had of course changed drastically with Germany's invasion of Russia on June 22, 1941. For the Communists though not for the Trotskyists the new turn of events had so changed the nature of the war to justify advocacy of American intervention.

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its feudal land system, no major criticism of the Soviet Union, and mixed criticism and praise of Chiang.

Despite the veteran opposition to Chiang by American isolationists, the burgeoning China Lobby in the U. S. was able to execute a cunning maneuver to curry the temporary favor of the isolationists. During the Congressional Pearl Harbor inquiry in 1945, it was revealed that a crucial American proposal for a Japanese modus vivendi in November 1941 had been scuttled by a negative cable from Chiang Kai-shek. Chiang had demanded that the US cancel its proposal, which would have forced him to enter into a coalition with Chiang's former prime minister who now headed a pro-Japanese government in northern China. Whereas Chiang was clearly the person responsible for the note and hence the collapse of the last hope for peace in the Pacific, both the isolationists and the China Lobby, for entirely different reasons, agreed to center their retrospective fire upon Owen Lattimore, who had been sent out by the US some months before as special adviser to Chiang Kai-shek. As a result of this maneuver, the isolationists were effectively disarmed from combatting the China Lobby's smear campaign against the formerly pro-Chiang interventionist Lattimore, a campaign launched by Kohlberg in the pro-Chiang American organ, China Monthly, in October, 1945.

The China Lobby's concentration upon Alger Hiss also served to neutralize any isolationist opposition, for Hiss, as a pro-Chiang and pro-interventionist assistant to Stanley K. Hornbeck at the Far Eastern desk of the State Department, had earned the hatred of the isolationist forces. Thus, despite the fact that the purpose of the China Lobby's campaign was stepped-up US intervention on Chiang's behalf, its early concentration on such formerly pro-war US advisers as Hiss and Lattimore served to stifle any developing isolationist opposition to this early--and crucial--emergence of the Cold War in Asia.

The China Lobby, early in its Cold War campaign, established the American China Policy Association, with Clare Boothe Luce as president and Alfred

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Kohlberg as vice-president. In preparation for the 1948 elections, Richard Nixon and the House Un-American Activities Committee began, in the summer of 1948, its parade of ex-Communist witnesses--the Bentleys, the Budenzes, the Chamberses--all distinguished for their often failing memories and their bitterness toward their former comrades. The China Monthly soon claimed (in its September, 1948 issue) the honor of being "the first to distinguish between a loyal and disloyal citizen." It is also perhaps not too far-fetched to collate the pro-Chiang enthusiasm of Senators Knowland and Nixon with the fact that the Bank of America, California's immensely powerful bank, has been the major depository for Chiang's enormous American cash holdings.

The total defeat of Chiang and the establishment of his government on Formosa led to an all-out effort by the China Lobby to preserve that island as the center for future US domination of China. In January, 1950, the Truman Administration indicated its willingness to allow Peking to gain possession of Formosa during the summer of that year. Senator Knowland, with the cooperation of General MacArthur's staff in Tokyo, immediately leaked this information to the public and attacked the idea. Early in February of 1950, Senator McCarthy began his famous attacks on the State Department, concentrating his smear charges especially on Philip Jessup, who had prepared the State Department book demonstrating that the Chiang regime had fallen from its own failings. Jessup was, characteristically, accused of being a Communist. The charge against Jessup revealed that the China Lobby now felt itself strong enough (and the isolationists weak enough) to break with the isolationists in the course of drumming up its multi-sided propaganda for a new American war. For Philip Jessup had been a distinguished leader of American isolationism (after as well as before June 22, 1941). Jessup had been chairman of the Board of Trustees of the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations before the War, and editor of the Far Eastern Survey. However, he had been forced out of his posts by the Luce-Kohlberg-China Lobbyists because of his isolationism. He had been a key adviser to the America First Committee and had sponsored its local chapters in Nor-

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folk, Conn. and New York City. Philip C. Jessup was as isolationist in 1950 as he had been in 1940 and suffered for this equally; he had opposed US imperialism against Japan just as much as he now opposed it against the New China.[16]

For Philip Jessup to be accused of Communism by the agents of the China Lobby was not a special case. Most isolationists have been so accused for so many years that the charges have lost all meaning. Senator Taft, within a matter of weeks of the Jessup slur, was himself subjected to the same charges by another influential member of the China Lobby, Joseph Alsop. Taft and all other isolationists were characterized as tools of Communism because isolationism basically denies the aggressiveness of any major power other than the US government, the only government that Americans can do anything about.

But it was not only the burgeoning China Lobby wing of the American Right that heartily smeared isolationists as tools of Communism. The charges were enthusiastically joined by the nation's liberals--the Nation, the New Republic, Americans for Democratic Action--who still fixed upon the dwindling ranks of American isolationism as the major enemy. And in a profound sense they were right; for these battered isolationists were the last carriers of a great American tradition, and constituted the last centers of total opposition to expanding and swelling American global imperialism. It was precisely these liberals, moreover, whom the historian William Appleman Williams has brilliantly termed "the corporate liberals", who have provided the major ideological and demagogic rationale for World War II and post-war American imperialism. And so these liberals recognized their main enemy, and were not above the very tactics of "McCarthyism" from which they were later to recoil when McCarthy himself humorlessly began to employ them against the Establishment itself!

16. Cole, op. cit., pp. 76, 161, 188. On Jessup, see also McGeorge Bundy, The Pattern of Responsibility (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1952), p. 218; and Congressional Record, Vol. 87, Pt. 8 (October, 1941), p. 8321.

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As for the Communists themselves, they were not about to favor any kind of political alliance with the isolationists. For one thing, the Communists still suffered from the cultural lag of the World War II thesis that smeared the isolationists as "parroters of the Goebbels line"; for another, the Communist policy was to seek passive adaptation and coalition on virtually any terms with reformist liberals--indeed the very liberals who were cementing the new American imperialism upon the American public. In short, whereas the liberals were astute in recognizing their main enemy, the Communists never succeeded in identifying theirs.

The Geography of Isolationism

The isolationist tradition in the United States is often associated with geographical regions. Of course, geographical regions are short-hand methods for describing cultural areas, so that a geographical description summarizes a complex of ideological, economic, and ethnic bases of cultural units. Briefly, the region best known in America for isolationism is that embracing the Old and New Northwest, from the Ohio River westward. This region, as the frontier that was settled last, has had the least influence in the decision-making of the federal government, a situation aggravated by the limited economic and intellectual influences of the region. The settlement of this region occurred primarily in the nineteenth century, and its viewpoint reflected the people who migrated there from Europe or the East. The economic reasons for their migration were based on their desire for independent economic development, free from the feudal systems of Europe and even in the American East. Similarly, the European migration from northern Europe and from the American East hoped to avoid the caste and class domination of politics that characterized the established political regimes. The leading migration to this area was German: whether as descendants of the German pacifist sects that had settled at first in Pennsylvania, or as refugees from the militarism and authoritarianism of anti-democratic German governments in the nineteenth century, there was a common

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cultural viewpoint shared by the Scandinavians as well as by the migrants from the East and the British Isles.

Samuel Lubell has emphasized the importance of the generally neglected German element in American politics.[17] As the second major ethnic group in the US it could not help but have a strong influence. Yet Lubell limits his analysis to the purely ethnic aspects without fully recognizing their far more significant cultural dimensions. Particularly significant were the democratic and anti-militarist traditions of the German immigrants and their descendants. These groups would not have favored the US entering a war on the side of Germany any more than they favored a war opposed to Germany. Their profound anti-militarism was the significant factor during both of the wars which Lubell perceptively feels could well be described as the first and second German wars. What Lubell fails to notice is that the accusations of pro-Germanism levelled against all opponents of US war were particularly directed against Americans of German descent, since their way of life emphasized their Germanic heritage for religious and cultural reasons. Their use of the German language made them especially suspect, for during the wars all things German were proscribed. The severe persecutions induced in German-Americans an identification with the government of Germany from which they had previously been free. At the same time, the pressures of mass culture have homogenized German-American and other ethnic groups, and have thus helped to undermine the specifically anti-militarist traditions of German America.

Pro-British, pro-League sentiment was always strongest in the Eastern and Southern areas. The Germanic elements were joined in opposition by other western European groups such as the Irish and Italians. While for special reasons Slavic groups led by the Poles supported the League, Southern

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17. Samuel Lubell, The Future of American Poltics (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1952), and Lubell, Revolt of the Moderates (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1956).

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sentiment for the League was aroused by the reminder that the anti-English Irish and Germans had provided the margin of victory for the North in the Civil War. The Ku Klux Klan, it must be remembered, was solidly based in the old Anglo-American groupings. Along with the racist Southern groups, the American Legion's Anglophile outlook was in reaction against the revisionism that had exposed the unheroic nature of the war and of deaths in which the Legion gloried.[18]

Internal migrations in the US have altered the sectional divisions based on cultural diversities. The heaviest migrations in the last quarter-century have been out of the South. It has been noted by sociologists that the less progressive attitudes on political, economic, social and especially civil libertarian questions exhibited by blue-collar workers reflects not only their educational level and the effects of mass media but the fact of accelerated Southern origins of America's industrial working class. Not only has there been a vast increase in industrialization in the South but Southerners in huge numbers have migrated to the cities of the Middle West and to southern California. The situation in California is especially instructive. Before World War II, California was a major center for progressivism in America, in liberal and socialist aspects of which were reflected in attitudes toward foreign policy. California's powerful Hiram Johnson was one of the leading opponents of American entrance into World War I, the League of Nations, and World War II, and was a center of isolationism in the Senate until his death in 1945. The Second World War greatly changed the political demography of California, southern California and Los Angeles in particular. For a quarter-century a massive government defense industry has developed there, fed by the labor of largely Southern migrants. The post-war emergence of William F. Knowland and Richard M. Nixon as California's Senators and major centers of Republican power, contrasts strikingly to such pre- World War II Republican leaders as Hiram Johnson and Earl Warren. All this is reflective of the changes

18. Adler, op. cit., pp. 75-92.

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in California brought about by the heavy World War II migrations. The migration from the South, however, has also been double-edged, involving as it has large numbers of Southern Negroes seeking the constitutional rights and civil liberties denied them in the South. Their anti-militarist religious traditions and their continued deprivation of civil liberties in the cities of the East, Middle West and southern California, combine with their recent admission to voting in the South to make the Negroes a potentially important anti-imperialist force in both electoral and direct action.

In the meanwhile, the older center of isolationism--the Old and New Northwest--was reduced as such by the swelling of Southern migration to the cities north of the Ohio River. The remaining strongholds of isolationism are the states of the Northwest from Lake Michigan to the Pacific. Surely it is no accident that states like Wisconsin which produced the two Bob LaFollettes are now represented by Senators with strong doubts about America's aggression in Vietnam; or that Montana, which used to be represented by Burton K. Wheeler is now represented by Mike Mansfield; or that Idaho which sent William Borah and Glen Taylor to the Senate now sends Frank Church, or that Oregon's Charles McNary has been succeeded by Wayne Morse.

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REPRINT:

The American Empire

By GARET GARRETT

One of the most perceptive and felicitous writers of the Old Right was the doughty and fiercely independent Garet Garrett, who, during his long career in journalism, was an editor of the Saturday Evening Post and of the quarterly American Affairs. Unlike so many of his colleagues on the Old Right, Mr. Garrett did not succumb to the lure of American imperialism after World War II; on the contrary, he levelled against it some of his most effective onslaughts. The following is a condensation of Garrett's pamphlet The Rise of Empire, published in 1952, and included in his collection The People's Pottage (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, 1953). We are indebted to Caxton Printers for permission to print the article below.

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We have crossed the boundary that lies between Republic and Empire. If you ask when, the answer is that you cannot make a single stroke between day and night; the precise moment does not matter. There was no painted sign to say: "You now are entering Imperium." Yet it was a very old road and the voice of history was saying: "Whether you know it or not, the act of crossing may be irreversible."

That a republic may vanish is an elementary school book fact.

The Roman Republic passed into the Roman Empire,

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and yet never could a Roman citizen have said, "That was yesterday." Nor is the historian, with all the advantages of perspective, able to place that momentous event at an exact point on the dial of time. The Republic had a long, unhappy twilight. It is agreed that the Empire began with Augustus Caesar. What Augustus Caesar did was to demonstrate a proposition found in Aristotle's Politics, one that he must have known by heart, namely this: "People do not easily change, but love their own ancient customs; and it is by small degrees only that one thing takes the place of another; so that the ancient laws will remain, while the power will be in the hands of those who have brought about a revolution in the state."

Revolution within the form.

There is no comfort in history for those who put their faith in forms; who think there is safeguard in words inscribed in parchment, preserved in a glass case, reproduced in facsimile and hauled to and fro on a Freedom Train.

Let it be current history. How much does the younger half of this generation reflect upon the fact that in its own time a complete revolution has taken place in the relations between government and people?

The extent to which the original precepts and intentions of Constitutional, representative, limited government, in the republican form, have been eroded away by argument and dialectic is a separate subject, long and ominous, and belongs to a treatise on political science. The one fact now to be emphasized is that when the process of erosion has gone on until there is no saying what the supreme law of the land is at a given time, then the Constitution begins to be flouted by executive will, with something like impunity. The instances may not be crucial at first and all the more dangerous for that reason. As one is condoned another follows and they become progressive.

To outsmart the Constitution and circumvent its restraints became a popular exercise of the art of government in the Roosevelt regime. In defense of his attempt to pack the Supreme Court with social-minded judges after several of his New Deal laws had been declared unconstitutional, President Roose-

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velt wrote: "The reactionary members of the Court had apparently determined to remain on the bench for as long as life continued--for the sole purpose of blocking any program of reform."

Among the millions who at the time applauded that statement of contempt there were very few, if there was indeed one, who would not have been frightened by a revelation of the logical sequel. They believed, as everyone else did, that there was one thing a President could never do. There was one sentence of the Constitution that could not fall, so long as the Republic lived.

The Constitution says: "The Congress shall have power to declare war."

That, therefore, was the one thing no President could do. By his own will he could not declare war. Only Congress could declare war, and Congress could be trusted never to do it but by will of the people. And that was the innermost safeguard of the republic. The decision whether or not to go to war was in the hands of the people--or so they believed. No man could make it for them.

It is true that President Roosevelt got the country into World War II. That is not the same thing. For a declaration of war he went to Congress--after the Japanese had attacked Pearl Harbor. He wanted it, and yet the Constitution forbade him to declare war and he durst not do it.

Nine years later a much weaker President did.

After President Truman, alone and without either the consent or knowledge of Congress, had declared war on the Korean aggressor, 7000 miles away, Congress condoned his usurpation of its exclusive Constitutional power. More than that, his political supporters in Congress argued that in the modern case that sentence in the Constitution conferring upon Congress the sole power to declare war was obsolete.

Mark you, the words had not been erased; they still existed in form. Only, they had become obsolete. And why obsolete? Because war may now begin suddenly, with bombs falling out of the sky, and we might perish while waiting for Congress to declare war.

The reasoning is puerile. The Korean war, which made the precedent, did not begin that way; secondly, Congress was in session at the time, so that the

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delay could not have been more than a few hours, provided Congress had been willing to declare war; and, thirdly, the President as Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces of the republic may in a legal manner act defensively before a declaration of war has been made. It is bound to be made if the nation has been attacked.

Mr. Truman's supporters argued that in the Korean instance his act was defensive and therefore within his powers as Commander-in-Chief. In that case, to make it Constitutional, he was legally obliged to ask Congress for a declaration of war afterward. This he never did. For a week Congress relied upon the papers for news of the country's entry into war; then the President called a few of its leaders to the White House and told them what he had done. A year later Congress was still debating whether or not the country was at war, in a legal, Constitutional sense.

A few months later Mr. Truman sent American troops to Europe to join an international army, and did it not only without a law, without even consulting Congress, but challenged the power of Congress to stop him. Congress made all of the necessary sounds of anger and then poulticed its dignity with a resolution saying it was all right for that one time, since anyhow it had been done, but that hereafter it would expect to be consulted.

At that time the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate asked the State Department to set forth in writing what might be called the position of Executive Government. The State Department obligingly responded with a document entitled, "Powers of the President to Send Troops Outside of the United States, February 28, 1951." For the information of the United States Senate it said:

> As this discussion of the respective powers of the President and Congress has made clear, constitutional doctrine has been largely moulded by practical necessities. Use of the congressional power to declare war, for example, has fallen into abeyance because wars are no longer declared in advance.

Caesar might have said it to the Roman Senate. If constitutional doctrine is moulded by necessity, what is a written Constitution for?

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Thus an argument that seemed at first to rest upon puerile reasoning turned out to be deep and cunning. The immediate use of it was to defend the unconstitutional Korean precedent, namely, the declaration of war as an act of the President's own will. Yet it was not invented for that purpose alone. It stands as a forecast of executive intentions, a manifestation of the executive mind, a mortal challenge to the parliamentary principle.

The question is: "Whose hand shall control the instrument of war?"

It is late to ask. It may be too late, for when the hand of the Republic begins to relax another hand is already putting itself forth.

If you may have Empire with or without a constitution, even within the form of a republican constitution, and if also you may have Empire with or without an emperor, then how may the true marks of Empire be distinguished with certainty? What are they?

The first requisite of Empire is:

The executive power of government shall be dominant.

It may be dominant originally, as in the days of hereditary kingship, or it may come to be dominant by change, as when the Roman republic passed under the rule of Caesars.

What Empire needs above all in government is an executive power that can make immediate decisions, such as a decision in the middle of the night by the President to declare war on the aggressor in Korea, or, on the opposite side, a decision in the Politburo in the Kremlin, perhaps also in the middle of the night, to move a piece on the chess board of cold war.

The Federal income-tax law of 1914 gave the government unlimited access to wealth and, moreover, power for the first time to levy taxes not for revenue only but for social purposes, in case there should arise a popular demand for redistribution of the national wealth. World War I immediately followed. Looking backward we can see that these two events marked the beginning of a great rise in the executive power of government. Then came in rapid succession (1) the Great Depression (2) the revolu-

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tionary Roosevelt regime, and (3) World War II, all within an arc of twenty years.

In those twenty years the sphere of Executive Government increased with a kind of explosive force. Congress received from the White House laws that were marked "must". Its principal function was to enact and engross them. The part of the Supreme Court was to make everything square with the Constitution by a liberal reinterpretation of its language. The word executive came to have its new connotation. For all the years before when you spoke of the executive power of government you meant only the power to execute and administer the laws. Henceforth it would mean the power to govern.

A further very subtle change was taking place. Only a few years ago if you had asked such a question as, "Who speaks for the people?" or "What organ of government utters their sovereign will?" the answer would have been "The Congress of the United States". Certainly. That was what Congress was for.

Now it is the President, standing at the head of the Executive Government, who says: "I speak for the people," or "I have a mandate from the people." Thus the man who happens to be the embodiment of the executive principle stands between the Congress and the people and assumes the right to express their will.

There is more to this. How much more than Congress the President acts directly upon the emotions and passions of the people to influence their thinking. As he controls Executive Government, so he controls the largest propaganda machine in the world, unless it be the Russian machine; and this machine is the exclusive possession of Executive Government. The Congress has no propaganda apparatus at all and continually finds itself under pressure from the people who have been moved for or against something by the ideas and thought material broadcast in the land by the administrative bureaus in Washington.

The result is Bureau Government, administered by bureaucrats who are not elected by the people.

In The Grandeur that was Rome, Stobart says that for a long time after the Republic had become an Empire a stout republican could still believe that

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he was governed by the Senate; yet little by little as a complete imperial bureaucracy was evolved the Senate sank into insignificance. It was really the bureaucracy of the imperial palace that governed the Roman world and strangled it with good intentions. The growth of the bureaucracy was both symptom and cause of the increasing power of the executive principle.

Aggrandizement of the executive principle of government takes place in several ways, mainly these:

(1) By delegation. That is when the Congress delegates one or more of its Constitutional powers to the President and authorizes him to exercise them. That procedure touched a very high point during the long Roosevelt regime, when an obliging Congress delegated to the President, among other powers, the crucial one of all, namely, power over the public purse, which until then had belonged exclusively to the House of Representatives, where the Constitution put it.

(2) By reinterpretation of the language of the Constitution. That is done by a sympathetic Supreme Court.

(3) By innovation. That is when, in this changing world, the President does things that are not specifically forbidden by the Constitution because the founders never thought of them.

(4) By the appearance in the sphere of Executive Government of what are called administrative agencies with power to issue rules and regulations that have the force of law. These agencies have built up a large body of administrative law which people are obliged to obey. And not only do they make their own laws; they enforce their own laws, acting as prosecutor, jury and judge; and appeal from their decisions to the regular courts is difficult because the regular courts are obliged to take their findings of fact as final. Thus the Constitutional separation of the three governmental powers, namely, the legislative, the executive and the judicial, is entirely lost.

(5) By usurpation. That is when the President wilfully confronts Congress with what in statescraft is called the fait accompli--a thing already done--which Congress cannot repudiate without exposing the American government to the ridicule of nations. It might be, for example, an executive agreement

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with foreign countries creating an international body to govern trade, in place of the International Trade Organization Treaty which the Senate would probably not have approved. The point is that the Constitution does not specifically forbid the President to enter into executive agreements with foreign nations; it provides only for treaties. In any case, when an executive agreement has been signed the Congress is very loath to humiliate the President before the world by repudiating his signature. Or again, it may be such a thing as going to war in Korea by agreement with the United Nations, without the consent of Congress, or sending troops to join an international army in Europe, by agreement with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

(6) Lastly, the powers of Executive Government are bound to increase as the country becomes more and more involved in foreign affairs. This is true because, both traditionally and by the terms of the Constitution, the province of foreign affairs is one that belongs in a very special sense to the President.

So much for the rise in the executive power of government to a colossal dimension, all in our own time. It is no longer a coequal power; it is the dominant power in the land, as Empire requires.

A second mark by which you may unmistakably distinguish Empire is: "Domestic policy becomes subordinate to foreign policy."

That happened to Rome. It has happened to every Empire. The consequences of its having happened to the British Empire are tragically appearing. The fact now to be faced is that it has happened also to us.

It needs hardly to be argued that as we convert the nation into a garrison state to build the most terrible war machine that has ever been imagined on earth, every domestic policy is bound to be conditioned by our foreign policy.

The voice of government is saying that if our foreign policy fails we are ruined. It is all or nothing. Our survival as a free nation is at hazard.

That makes it simple, for in that case there is no domestic policy that may not have to be sacrificed to the necessities of foreign policy--even freedom.

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It is no longer a question of what we can afford to do; it is what we must do to survive.

We are no longer able to choose between peace and war. We have embraced perpetual war. We are so committed by the Truman Doctrine, by examples of our intention, and by such formal engagements as the North Atlantic Treaty and the Pacific Pact.

Let it be a question of survival, and how relatively unimportant are domestic policies--touching, for example, the rights of private property, when, if necessary, all private property may be confiscated; or touching individual freedom, when, if necessary, all labor may be conscripted; or touching welfare and social security, when in a garrison state the hungry may have to be fed not by checks from the Treasury but in soup kitchens!

The American mind is already conditioned. For proof of that you may take the dumb resignation with which such forebodings as the following, from the lead editorial of The New York Times, October 31, 1951, are received by the people:

> . . .the Korean war has brought a great and probably long-lasting change in our history and our way of life. . .forcing us to adopt measures which are changing the whole American scene and our relations with the rest of the world. . . We have embarked on a partial mobilization for which about a hundred billion dollars have already been made available. . .Finally, we have been forced not only to retain but to expand the draft and to press for a system of universal military training which will affect the lives of a whole generation. The productive effort and the tax burden resulting from these measures are changing the economic pattern of the land.
>
> What is not so clearly understood, here or abroad, is that these are no temporary measures for a temporary emergency but rather the beginning of a wholly new military status for the United States, which seems certain to be with us for a long time to come.

What a loss it would be to the Bible if the prophets had been editorial writers on The New York Times. Never before in our history, probably never before in any history, could so dire a forecast have been

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made in these level tones. But what they are saying is true. And certainly never before could people have felt so helpless about it, as if this were not the harvest of our foreign policy but Jehovah acting through the Russians to afflict us--and nobody else responsible.

Another brand mark of Empire is: "Ascendancy of the military mind, to such a point at last that the civilian mind is intimidated."

The great symbol of the American military mind is the Pentagon in Washington with its seventeen and one half miles of corridor, in which admirals and generals sometimes get lost; its twenty-eight thousand people at desks, eight thousand automobiles parked outside--the largest indoor city in the world. It was built at a cost of seventy million dollars during World War II, not as temporary housing such as was built during World War I, but as a dwelling for Mars. What it represents is a forethought of perpetual war.

There global strategy is conceived; there, nobody knows how, the estimates of what it will cost are arrived at; and surrounding it is our own iron curtain. The information that comes from the inner side is only such as the military authorities are willing to divulge, or have a reason for imparting to the people. All the rest is stamped "classified" or "restricted," in the name of national security, and Congress itself cannot get it. That is as it must be of course; the most important secrets of Empire are military secrets. Even information that is without any intrinsic military value may be classified, on the ground that if it got out it might give rise to popular criticism of the military establishment and cause bad public relations.

It was General MacArthur himself who uttered these devastating words: "Talk of imminent threat to our national security through the application of external force is pure nonsense. . . Indeed, it is a part of the general pattern of misguided policy that our country is now geared to an arms economy which was bred in an artificially induced psychosis of war hysteria and nurtured upon an incessant propaganda

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of fear. While such an economy may produce a sense of seeming prosperity for the moment, it rests on an illusory foundation of complete unreliability and renders among our political leaders almost a greater fear of peace than is their fear of war."

The bald interpretation of General MacArthur's words is this. War becomes an instrument of domestic policy. Among the control mechanism on the government's panel board now is a dial marked War. It may be set to increase or decrease the tempo of military expenditures, as the planners decide that what the economy needs is a little more inflation or a little less--but of course never any deflation. And whereas it was foreseen that when Executive Government is resolved to control the economy it will come to have a vested interest in the power of inflation, so now we perceive that it will come also to have a kind of proprietary interest in the institution of perpetual war.

Yet in the very nature of Empire, the military mind must keep its secrets. A Republic may put its armor on and off. War is an interlude. When war comes it is a civilian business, conducted under the advice of military experts. Both in peace and war military experts are excluded from civilian decisions. But with Empire it is different; Empire must wear its armor. Its life is in the hands of the General Staff and war is supremely a military business, requiring of the civilian only acquiescence, exertion and loyalty.

Another historic feature of Empire, and this is a structural feature, is:

A system of satellite nations.

We use that word only for nations that have been captured in the Russian orbit, with some inflection of contempt. We speak of our own satellites as allies and friends or as freedom loving nations. Nevertheless, satellite is the right word. The meaning of it is the hired guard. When people say we have lost China or that if we lose Europe it will be a disaster, what do they mean? How could we lose China or Europe, since they never belonged to us? What they mean is that we have lost or may lose a following of dependent people who act as an outer guard.

It is a long list, and satellite traffic in the American orbit is already pretty dense without taking into

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account client nations, suppliant nations and waif satellites, all looking to the American government for arms and economic aid. These are scattered all over the body of the sick world like festers. For any one of them to involve us in war it is necessary only for the Executive Power at Washington to decide that its defense is somehow essential to the security of the United States. That is how the Korean War started. Korea was a waif satellite.

Empire must put its faith in arms.

Fear at last assumes the phase of a patriotic obsession. It is stronger than any political party. Any candidate for office who trifles with its basic conviction will be scourged. The basic conviction is simple. We cannot stand alone. A capitalistic economy, though it possesses half the industrial power of the whole world, cannot defend its own hemisphere. It may be able to save the world; alone it cannot save itself. It must have allies. Fortunately, it is able to buy them, bribe them, arm them, feed and clothe them; it may cost us more than we can afford, yet we must have them or perish. This voice of fear is the voice of government.

Fear may be understood. But a curious and characteristic emotional weakness of Empire is:

A complex of vaunting and fear.

The vaunting is from what may be called that Titanic feeling. Many passengers on the doomed Titanic would not believe that a ship so big and grand could sink. So long as it was above water her listing deck seemed safer than a life boat on the open sea. So with the people of Empire. They are mighty. They have performed prodigious works, even many that seemed beyond their powers. Reverses they have known but never defeat.

So those must have felt who lived out the grandeur that was Rome. So the British felt while they ruled the world. So now Americans feel.

As we assume unlimited political liabilities all over the world, as billions in multiples of ten are voted for the ever expanding global intention, there is only scorn for the one who says: "We are not infinite. Let us calculate our utmost power of performance, weigh it against what we are proposing to do, and see if the scales will balance." The answer

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is: "We do not know what our utmost is. What we will to do, that we can do. Let us resolve to do what is necessary. Necessity will create the means."

Conversely, the fear. Fear of the barbarian. Fear of standing alone. A time comes when the guard itself, that is, your system of satellites, is a source of fear. Satellites are often willful and the more you rely upon them the more willful and demanding they are.

And then at last the secret, irreducible fear of allies--not this one or that one invidiously, but foreign allies in human principle, each with a life of its own to save. How will they behave when the test comes?--when they face, in this case, the terrible reality of becoming the European battlefield whereon the security of the United States shall be defended? If they falter or fail, what will become of the weapons with which we have supplied them? What if they were surrendered or captured and turned against us?

The possibility of having to face its own weapons on a foreign field is one of the nightmares of Empire.

As we have set them down so far, the things that signify Empire are these, namely:

(1) Rise of the executive principle of government to a position of dominant power,

(2) Accommodation of domestic policy to foreign policy,

(3) Ascendancy of the military mind,

(4) A system of satellite nations for a purpose called collective security, and,

(5) An emotional complex of vaunting and fear.

There is yet another sign that defines itself gradually. When it is clearly defined it may be already too late to do anything about it. That is to say, a time comes when Empire finds itself--

A prisoner of history.

The history of a Republic is its own history. Its past does not contain its future, like a seed. A Republic may change its course, or reverse it, and that will be its own business. But the history of Empire is world history and belongs to many people.

A republic is not obliged to act upon the world, either to change or instruct it. Empire, on the other hand, must put forth its power.

What is it that now obliges the American people to act upon the world?

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As you ask that question the fear theme plays itself down and the one that takes its place is magnifical. It is not only our security we are thinking of--our security in a frame of collective security. Beyond that lies a greater thought.

It is our turn.

Our turn to do what?

Our turn to assume the responsibilities or moral leadership in the world.

Our turn to maintain a balance of power against the forces of evil everywhere--in Europe and Asia and Africa, in the Atlantic and in the Pacific, by air and by sea--evil in this case being the Russian barbarian.

Our turn to keep the peace of the world.

Our turn to save civilization.

Our turn to serve mankind.

But this is the language of Empire. The Roman Empire never doubted that it was the defender of civilization. Its good intentions were peace, law and order. The Spanish Empire added salvation. The British Empire added the noble myth of the white man's burden. We have added freedom and democracy. Yet the more that may be added to it the more it is the same language still. A language of power.

Always the banners of Empire proclaim that the ends in view sanctify the means. The ironies, sublime and pathetic, are two. The first one is that Empire believes what it says on its banner; the second is that the word for the ultimate end is invariably Peace. Peace by grace of force.

One must see that on the road to Empire there is soon a point from which there is no turning back.

The argument for going on is well known. As Woodrow Wilson once asked, "Shall we break the heart of the world?" So now many are saying, "We cannot let the free world down."

What does going on mean? You never know.

On June 24, 1941, as he extended Lend-Lease to Russia in World War II, President Roosevelt said: "We will accept only a world consecrated to freedom of speech and expression--freedom of every person to worship God in his own way--freedom from want and freedom from terrorism."

Senator Taft was one of the very few at that time who could imagine what going on from there might

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mean. He asked: "Will that part of the world which Stalin conquers with our airplanes and our tanks be consecrated to freedom of speech and expression? Will it be consecrated to freedom from want and freedom from terrorism? Or, after a Russian victory with our aid, must we step in with our armies to impose the four freedoms on two hundred million people, ten thousand miles away, who have never known freedom from want or freedom from terrorism?"

In October, 1951, only ten years later, Collier's magazine devoted one entire issue to a preview of World War III, with twenty articles written by professors, military people, publicists and others who might call themselves makers of public opinion--and the sequel of it was the liberation of the Russian people. The answer to Mr. Taft's question.

Between government in the republican meaning, that is, Constitutional, representative, limited government, on the one hand, and Empire on the other hand, there is mortal enmity. Either one must forbid the other or one will destroy the other. That we know. Yet never has the choice been put to a vote of the people.

The country has been committed to the course of Empire by Executive Government, one step at a time, with slogans, concealments, equivocations, a propaganda of fear, and in every crisis an appeal for unity, lest we present to the world the aspect of a divided nation, until at last it may be proclaimed that events have made the decision and it is irrevocable. Thus, now to alter the course is impossible.

Who says it is impossible? The President says it; the State Department says it; all globalists and one-worlders are saying it.

Do not ask whether or not it is possible. Ask yourself this: If it were possible, what would it take? How could the people restore the Republic if they would? or, before that, how could they recover their Constitutional sovereign right to choose for themselves.

When you have put it that way you are bound to turn and look at the lost terrain. What are the positions, forgotten or surrendered, that would have to be recaptured?

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The height in the foreground is a state of mind. To recover the habit of decision the people must learn again to think for themselves; and this would require a kind of self-awakening, as from a wee small alarm in the depths.

The second height to be regained is that where of old foreign policy was submitted to public debate. How long ago that seems! And how was that height lost? There was no battle for it. The government seized it without a struggle; and now the President may say the people ought to accept the government's foreign policy without debate.

In a speech to the National Women's Democratic Club on November 20, 1951, President Truman said: "You remember what happened in 1920. When the people voted for Harding, that meant a tremendous change in the course the United States was following. It meant that we turned our backs on the new-born League of Nations. . . I think most people now recognize that the country chose the wrong course in 1920. . . .Since I have been President I have sought to steer a straight course of handling foreign policy matters on the sole basis of the national interest. The people I have chosen to fill the major positions concerned with foreign policy have been picked solely on merit, without regard to party labels. I want to keep it that way. I want to keep our foreign policy out of domestic politics."

So far had the American mind been conditioned by the infatuate phrase, bi-partisan foreign policy, that extraordinary statement was vacantly received. What was the President saying? He was saying that because, in his opinion, the people once voted wrong on foreign policy, they ought not to vote on it at all any more. Let them leave it to the President. It follows logically that the people have no longer anything to say about war and peace.

On this height, where foreign policy once more shall be debated by the people who may have to die for it, let the wind be cold and merciless. Let those be nakedly exposed to it who have brought the country to this impasse.

On the next height lies control of the public purse. Until the people have recovered that they cannot tame Executive Government. Passing laws to control

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or restrain it is of no avail whatever. The only way to reason with it is to cut it off at the pockets. The people have not always managed the purse well. They have sometimes stuffed it with bad money; they have sometimes flung its contents around in a reckless manner. But there is this difference, that no matter how badly the people may manage the public purse it cannot control them, whereas in the hands of the government control of the purse becomes the single most powerful instrument of executive policy touching the lives of the people.

The positions in the lost terrain that have been named are vital. To serve the Republic they must all be stormed and captured. But there is still one more, the last and highest of all. The slopes are steep and barren. No enemy is visible. The enemy is in yourself. For this may be named the Peak of Fortitude.

What you have to face is that the cost of saving the Republic may be extremely high. It could be relatively as high as the cost of setting it up in the first place, one hundred and seventy-five years ago, when love of political liberty was a mighty passion, and people were willing to die for it.

When the economy has for a long time been moving by jet propulsion, the higher the faster, on the fuel of perpetual war and planned inflation, time comes when you have to choose whether to go on and on and dissolve in the stratosphere, or decelerate. But deceleration will cause a terrific shock. Who will say, "Now!" Who is willing to face the grim and dangerous realities of deflation and depression?

When Moses had brought his people near to the Promised Land he sent out scouts to explore it. They returned with rapturous words for its beauties and its fruits, whereupon the people were shrill with joy, until the scouts said: "The only thing is, this land is inhabited by very fierce men."

Moses said: "Come. Let us fall upon them and take the land. It is ours from the Lord."

At that the people turned bitterly on Moses, and said: "What a prophet you have turned out to be! So the land is ours if we can take it? We needed no prophet to tell us that."

No doubt the people know they can have their

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Republic back if they want it enough to fight for it and to pay the price. The only point is that no leader has yet appeared with the courage to make them choose.

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